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P 191143Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4489
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY HARARE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND
PROSPECTS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE PAACE ACCORD

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R. MELONE
DATE/CASE ID: 15 JAN 2002 200004465

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1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: RWANDA TOOK A GIANT STEP FORWARD IN ITS TRANSITION FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY WITH THE SIGNING AUGUST 4 OF A PEACE ACCORD BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RPF REBELS. THIS REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT ENDS NEARLY THREE YEARS OF WAR AND TRANSFERS TO A MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT HEADED BY AN OPPOSITION PRIME MINISTER POWERS MONOPOLIZED FOR NEARLY TWENTY YEARS BY THE PRESIDENT AND HIS FORMER SINGLE PARTY. THE PEACE ACCORD PROVIDES A BLUEPRINT FOR A COMPLEX, TIGHTLY SCHEDULED 22-MONTH TRANSITION PERIOD INTENDED TO END IN MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS. KEY TO LAUNCHING THIS PROCESS IS THE ARRIVAL IN KIGALI OF A CREDIBLE NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF) THAT WILL PERMIT FRENCH FORCES TO LEAVE AS AGREED. THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WILL INHERIT SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS AND WILL FACE NUMEROUS OBSTACLES TO IMPLEMENTING THE ACCORD. HOWEVER, RWANDANS HAVE

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DEMONSTRATED THEIR DETERMINATION TO KEEP THEIR TRANSITION ON COURSE. CONTINUED GOOD WILL ON ALL SIDES SHOULD ENABLE RWANDANS TO SUCCEED IN THE DIFFICULT TASK OF MAKING THE PEACE PLAN WORK. NEVERTHELESS, THEY WILL NEED SUSTAINED BILATERAL AND MULTI-LATERAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTINUE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS DIPLOMATICALLY, MATERIALLY, AND FINANCIALLY. END SUMMARY.

PEACE PROCESS

3. WITH THE SIGNING AUGUST 4 OF A PEACE ACCORD BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA (GOR) AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) REBELS, RWANDANS ENDED NEARLY THREE YEARS OF CIVIL WAR AND COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO A TWO-YEAR TRANSITION PROCESS INTENDED TO END IN MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS. THE SIX PROTOCOLS OF THE PEACE ACCORD, METICULOUSLY WORKED OUT DURING A FULL YEAR OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, COMMITS RWANDA TO DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM, RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, THE RULE OF LAW, NATIONAL RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE MAJORITY HUTU AND MINORITY TUTSI ETHNIC GROUPS AND THE RIGHT OF REFUGEES TO RETURN.

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4. THE TWO SIDES AGREED ON A POWER-SHARING FORMULA FOR THE GOVERNMENT THAT WILL MANAGE THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND TRANSFERRED TO IT THE POWERS FORMERLY HELD SOLELY BY THE PRESIDENT. THIS GOVERNMENT, TO CONSIST OF THE FIVE PARTIES NOW IN THE GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS

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THE RPF, IS TO OVERSEE THE DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT OF THE TWO ARMIES, EFFECT INTEGRATION AND DEMOBILIZATION OF THE ARMED FORCES, ESTABLISH INTERNAL SECURITY, ASSURE THE REINTEGRATION OF WAR DISPLACED, REVITALIZE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CIVIL SERVICE, STRENGTHEN THE JUDICIARY, ORGANIZE THE RETURN AND REINSTALLATION OF LONG-TIME REFUGEES, DRAFT A NEW CONSTITUTION, CONDUCT A CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM, HOLD LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS, AND, FINALLY, HOLD LEGISLATIVE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

5. AN APPOINTED MULTI-PARTY PARLIAMENT, THE

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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 004)

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, IS TO WORK SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT TO ACCOMPLISH THIS MAMMOTH PROGRAM. AMONG ITS CRITICAL ROLES WILL BE INTERPRETATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE PEACE ACCORD, AND, IF APPROPRIATE, AMENDMENT OF THE PEACE ACCORD IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND INITIATION OF JUDICIAL ACTION AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OR MOTIONS OF CENSURE AGAINST THE PRIME MINISTER.

6. THE TIMETABLE IS TIGHT. A NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF) IS TO BE IN PLACE IN KIGALI AND TWO COMPANIES OF FRENCH TROOPS WITHDRAWN BEFORE MID SEPTEMBER WHEN TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS -- THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT (BBTG), THE TRANSITIONAL ASSEMBLY (TNW), KAFDNTHE JOINT HIGH COMMANDS OF THE ARMY AND GENFARMERIE -- ARE TO BE PUT IN PLACE. WITHIN THE FOLLOWING MONTH, DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT OF TZJ ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE COMPLETE. WITHIN THE NEXT NINE MONTHS, INTE4-589, TRAINING FOR THE ARMED FORCES, THEIR REDEPLOYMENT AND
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DEMOBILIZATION OF THOSE NOT CHOSEN FOR THE ARMED
FORCES SHOULD BE COMPLETED. ORGANIZED RETURN OF
REFUGEES SHOULD HAVE BEGUN. AS IF THIS WERE NOT
ENOUGH, JUDICIAL AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, LOCAL
GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL
REFERENDUM MUST ALSO TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE 22-MONTH
TRANSITION PERIOD ENDS IN LEGISLATIVE AND
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

STARTING POINT

-Q7. THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE
OVER AT A TIME WHEN THE RWANDAN ECONOMY IS ON ITS
KNEES AS A RESULT OF NEARLY THREE YEARS OF WAR. THE
COUNTRY IS NEARLY BANKRUPT. ITS BUDGET IS SERIOUSLY
IN DEFICIT AS A RESULT OF ARMS PURCHASES WHICH HAS
CAUSED THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF TO SUSPEND THEIR
STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM. IT HAS LITTLE HARD
CURRENCY TO PURCHASE IMPORTS. THE JOB MARKET IS
SERIOUSLY CONSTRICTED WITH LIMITED OPPORTUNITIES FOR
OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS SADLY
UNDERDEVELOPED AND LAND FOR NEW FARM ACTIVITY IS
VIRTUALLY NONEXISTENT. WAR-DISPLACED, WHO NUMBERED
NEARLY ONE MILLION FOLLOWING A FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE BY
THE RPF, WILL NEED FOOD ASSISTANCE AT LEAST THROUGH
DECEMBER, SOME THROUGH JUNE, AND HELP IN
REESTABLISHING THEMSELVES ON THEIR FARMS.
DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS AND GENDARMES AND RETURNING
REFUGEES WILL NEED PRODUCTIVE WORK. WEAPONS ARE
READILY AVAILABLE MAKING ARMED BANDITRY, POLITICAL
CLASHES AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE A CONTINUAL THREAT.

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8. DESPITE THESE LIABILITIES, HOWEVER, RWANDA WILL
BRING SOME IMPORTANT ASSETS TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE PEACE ACCORD. DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF A CIVIL SOCIETY ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY.
POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE FLOURISHED FOR TWO YEARS AND
ARE REACHING AN IMPORTANT STAGE IN THEIR EVOLUTION
WHERE THE PARTY MEMBERS ARE BEGINNING TO HOLD THEIR
LEADERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS AND DECISIONS.
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, ONCE A MONOLITH TO THE SINGLE
PARTY OF THE PRESIDENT, HAS ALREADY EXPERIENCED

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PLURALISM WITH THE DEFECTION OF NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 00410
AOEMBASSY DAKAR UQPQ
RUFHDRJXAMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 4014
AMEMBASSY HARAJE
RUT
KMXAMEBAYSY KAMPALA 4193
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

ITS MEMBERS TO OTHER PARTIES. A NUMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS EXIST AND HAVE SOUNDED ALARM BELLS AND CONDUCTED INVESTIGATIONS INTO ABUSES BY BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF DURING THE TENSE YEARS OF WAR. WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS OF ENTREPRENEURS AND COOPERATIVES FLOURISH THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

9. IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, RWANDA HAS EVEN HELD MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS OF SORTS. IN COMMUNES WHERE LOCAL OFFICIALS WERE DEEMED TO HAVE HAD A ROLE IN ETHNIC OR POLITICAL VIOLENCE, INDIRECT ELECTIONS THAT INVOLVED POLITICAL PARTIES IN HEAVY LOBBYING AND HORSETRADING RESULTED IN NEW LOCAL LEADERSHIP. AN ARRANGEMENT WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF LED TO INDIRECT AND DIRECT ELECTIONS OF LOCAL LEADERS IN THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE BETWEEN THE TWO ARMED FORCES.

10. THE ONE EXCEPTION TO THIS ALREADY LAUNCHED PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IS THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM. SO FAR THIS INSTITUTION REMAINS IN THE HANDS OF
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INEXPERIENCED MAGISTRATES AND INCOMPETENT PRMSECUTOR
WHO, 173:-73 9| 5#384)-:(9| :43\$3,5:-), REMAP
FCBJECTIONS TO CORRUPTION AFD, IF W
LEIPART, LOYAG TO
ORHE O
OERHRULI G PARTY THAT APPOINTED THEM. THE NEW
GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE A MAMMOTH TASK IN THIS AREA IN
ORDER TO INSTILL A RULE OF LAW.

PROBLEMS AHEAD

11. BASIC MISTRUST. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RWANDAN PEACE ACCORD WILL INEVITABLY HAVE ITS UPS AND DOWNS.

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DELAYS WILL, NO DOUBT, SET BACK THE TIMEFRAME
ENVISIONED IN THE PEACE ACCORD. U
EERLYING MOST OF
THESE ROUGH SPOTS WILL BE THE FUNDAMENTAL MISTRUST
AMONG ALL PARTIES. ALT
UGH THE LEJJS OF BOTH
SIDES HAVE SIGNED THE PEACE ACCORD, NEITHER SIDE
TRUSTS THE INTENTIONS OF THE OTHER. HISTORIC
RIVALRIES BETWEEN THE MAJORITY HUTU, WHO PREDOMINATE
INSIDE THE COUNTRY, AND THE MINORITY TUTSI, WHO
PREDOMINATE WITHIN THE RPF, CONTINUE TO FUEL
ANTAGONISM. ON THE ONE HAND, DOUBTS PERSIST ABOUT
WHETHER THE RPF IS COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY OR TO A
TAKEOVER OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RESTORATION OF
TUTSI RULE. ON THE OTHER HAND, DOUBTS ALSO PERSIST
ABOUT THE COMMITMENT OF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CLOSE
ENTOURAGE TO SHARING GOVERNANCE OF THE COUNTRY WITH
THE RPF. MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENTS WON'T BE
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EASY. AS ONE RWANDAN NOTED RECENTLY, POINTING TO THE
HEAD OF THE ELITE RWANDAN PARACOMMANDO UNIT: "THIS
MAN LOST HALF HIS UNIT DURING THE WAR, AND NOW WE ARE
ASU
ING HIM TO INTEGRATE HIS FORCES WITH THOSE OF THE
EQMDMYJNTJ
JXN
RVIWPTUZLJ/6/-8781 #'0)73 0,3 #3
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/;
8,:80-):90;& 2,747
(\$8YJD, #1\$4-73,3\$:63040.3 .8,85"4-DEYPGNATEWJS POLITICAL
BASE. UNLESS HE CAN DEVISE A FORMULA FOR
OVERCOMING ITS DIFFERENCES AND REUNITE, THE BBTG
RISKS TAKING OFFICE WITH ITS CREDIBILITY AND
LEGITIMACY COMPROMISED. THE VOLATILE AND COMPLICATED

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 AMEMBASSY CAIRO
 AMEMBASSY DAKAR
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY HARARE
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
 AMEMBASSY KINSHAA
 AMEMBASSY LA9 039
 AMEMBAS Y LILONGWE
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INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION WILL ONLY BECOME MORE
 COMPLEX WITH THE ADDITION OF THE RPF AS A POLITICAL
 PARTY. WHEN THE POWER'SHARING PROTOCOL WAS CONCLUDED
 LAST JANUARY, THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY RESISTED THE
 POWER-SHARING FORMULA ON GROUNDS THAT IT LEFT THEM IN
 A PERMANENT MINORITY SITUATIONJM RECENTLY THE

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POLITICAL FORCES IN RWANDA SHATTERED THIS IMAGE OF PERMANENT AND STATIC POLITICAL ALLIANCES AS DEMONSTRATED IN THEIR MANEUVERING TO NAME THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH THE PEACE ACCORD ALLOWS FOR SUCH SHIFTING ALLIANCES AMONG THE PARTIES, ITS SPECIFICITY ABOUT WHICH PARTIES WILL BE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND HOW MANY TNA DEPUTIES EACH WILL APPOINT ALLOWS LITTLE LEAWAY FOR EVOLUTION, REALIGNMENTS OR BREAKAWAYS WITHIN PARTIES. THUS THE PEACE ACCORD IS LIKELY TO EXERCISE SOME CONSTRAINT ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE PARTIES.

13. THE ROLE OF THE RPF. ONE OF THE BIGGEST UNKNOWNNS IN THE INTERNAL POLITICAL EQUATION IS THE IMPACT THE RETURN OF THE RPF WILL HAVE ON THE POLITICAL SCENE.

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 MANY OF ITS LEADERS ARE FAR FROM BEING POLITICAL UNKNOWNNS. MANY HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF ASSOCIATION WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, WITH HIS MILITARY AND WITH SOME OF THE DARKER INCIDENTS IN RWANDAN HISTORY. MANY PEOPLE QUESTION WHETHER THE RPF IS COMMITTED TO POWER-SHARING AND THE DEMOCRATIC RULES OF THE GAME OR WHETHER THEY WILL RESORT TO VIOLENCE IF THE PROCESS GOES AWRY. WHETHER THEIR SOMEWHAT RIGID IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ISSUES AND TO CONTROL OF PARTY MEMBERS WILL BE COMPATIBLE WITH DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES WILL BE KEY TO THE RPF'S ACCEPTABILITY TO THE RWANDAN PUBLIC.

14. HUTU EXTREMISM. AT THE SAME TIME, HUTU EXTREMISTS WHO OPPOSE RECONCILIATION WITH THE RPF AND OBJECT TO ACCORDING GREATER PARTICIPATION IN RWANDAN SOCIETY TO TUTSIS ARE ALSO AN UNKNOWN QUANTITY. SINCE ITS FORMATION 18 MONTHS AGO, 5#3 :\$4, AN AVOWEDLY ANTIGAUZSI POLITICAL PARTY, PTAYD AN EXTRAMELY D
 SRUPTIVE, INDEED VIOLENT/ ROLEM
 DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS AND GENDARMES COULD FUEL RENEWED CDR ACTIVITY, LRGELY DORMANT SINCE THE FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE. THE AVAILABILITY OF GUNS AND GRENADES DOES NOTHING TO REDUCE ANXIETY ON THIS POINT.

15. POLITICAL VIOLENCE. TWO GOVERNMENT
 FFICIALS,
 FORMER PRIME MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE AND

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DEFENSE MINISTER JAMES GASANA LEFT RWANDA SADDENLY
AND UNANNOUNCED WITHIN THE PAST MONTH. GASANA SAID
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HE FEARED FOR HIS LIFE AND SPECULATION EXISTS THAT
NSBNGIYAREMYE MAY HAVE BEEN SIMILARLY MOTIVATED. IN
MAY, A WELL-KNOWN POLITICIAN FROM THE PRINCIPAL
OPPOSITION PARTY WAS ASSASSINATED AND THE CRIME
REMAINS UNSOLVED. THESE INCIDENTS, AND OTHERS
INVOLVING LESS PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS, STIR ANXIETIES
ABOUT THE POSSIBLILITY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND
RANDOM TERRORISM CONTINUING DESPITE THE END OF THE
WAR.

16. INTERPRETATION OF THE ACCORD. ALL OF THE
PROBLEMS MENTIONED THUS FAR WILL INEVITABLY MAKE
INTERPRETATION OF THE SOMETIMES CONTRADICTIONARY AND
OFTEN AMBIGUOUS ARTICLES OF THE PROTOCOLS DIFFICULT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
LAGS: REL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

AT BEST. ALREADY DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ARTICLE OUTLINING THE PROCESS FOR NOMINATING A PRIME MINISTER PRECIPITATED CONSIDERABLE MISUNDERSTANDING, INDEED, ONGOING ACRIMONY. INTERPRETATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD IS VESTED IN THE TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. IF NECESSARY, THE TNA IS TO REFER TO THE POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION SET UP UNDER THE CEASE-FIRE ACCORD OF JULY 1992. THE COMPOSITION OF THIS COMMISSION, CURRENTLY THE "GOVERNMENT" AND THE "RPF", HAS YET TO BE MODIFIED AND ITS ROLE REDEFINED IN A WAY THAT MAKES IT CONSISTENT WITH A POST-PEACE ACCORD MISSION. THIS COMMISSION IS THE ONLY TRANSITION ORGAN WHICH INCORPORATES INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS WHO HELPED BROKER THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

17. RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS. THE COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH IMPLEMENTING RWANDA'S PEACE ACCORD WILL BE ENORMOUS.

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DEMOBILIZATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES,

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REINSTALLATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS, RETURN AND REINTEGRATION OF REFUGEES, WILL ALL HAVE LARGE PRICE TAGS. BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE OUTSTANDING DEBTS. RWANDA CANNOT FINANCE THESE ACTIVITIES WITHOUT HELP FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. ALTHOUGH SOME FAT CAT REBELS, WHO ALLEGEDLY FINANCED THE RPF, MIGHT BE CONVINCED TO INVEST THEIR FUNDS IN PEACE INSTEAD OF WAR, THIS WILL BE INSUFFICIENT. MULTI-LATERAL AND BILATERAL AID, OVER WHICH RWANDANS HAVE NO CONTROL, WILL BE CRUCIAL TO THE PROCESS. FUNDS WILL BE NEEDED FOR BUDGET SUPPORT AS WELL AS FOR THE PROJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE ACCORD. RWANDA'S TRADITIONAL DONORS MUST REMAIN ENGAGED, BUT NEW SOURCES OF FUNDING MUST BE FORTHCOMING AS WELL. WORLD BANK AND IMF PARTICIPATION WILL BE CRITICAL. AN IMPLEMENTATION PROCEEDS, THE RWANDANS WILL IFEVITABLY HAVE TO LOWER THEIR SIGHTS AND ALTER THEIR PROCEDURES NNACCORDANCE W TH RESOURCE AVAILABILITY. EACH NEW SET OF ALTERNATIVES, HOWEVER, &40(4-88,& THE SPECTRE OF MISTRUST AND QUESTIONS ABOUT MOTIVES THAT PLAGUED THE NEGOTIATIONS AT ARUSHA AND RESULTED IN A LONG DRAWN-OUT PROCESS. INORDINATE DELAYS COULD TEMPT ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER TO RESORT TO RENEWED CONFLICT.

18. NIF: THE TIMETABLE KEY. THE PRESENCE OF A NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN KIGALI--AGAIN A FACTOR TOTALLY OUTSIDE RWANDAN CONTROL--IS THE KEY TO
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UNLOCKING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMPLEX RWANDAN PEACE PLAN. UNTIL A CREDIBLE INTERNATIONAL FORCE IS IN PLACE, THE TWO COMPANIES OF FRENCH TROOPS IN KIGALI WILL NOT DEPART. UNTIL THE NIF ARRIVES AND THE FRENCH DEPART, THE RPF HAS SAID IT WILL NOT COME TO KIGALI. UNTIL THE RPF IS WILLING TO COME TO KIGALI, THE GOVERNMENT HAS SAID NO TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS CAN BE PUT IN PLACE. AS THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD DIPLOMATS RECENTLY: "IN THE ABSENCE OF A NIF, OUR HANDS ARE TIED. WE CANNOT BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE ACCORDS" MEANWHILE, TWO ARMED FORCES CONTINUE TO FACE EACH OTHER ACROSS A NARROW DEMILITARIZED ZONE IN NORTHERN RWANDA.

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19. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. RWANDA HAS SET ITSELF ON
A TWO-YEAR TRANSITION PROGRAM WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY
TURN OUT TO BE EVEN LONGER. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE

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	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
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	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		
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P 191143Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4494
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY HARARE
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
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LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TTE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

PEACE PLAN DEPENDS ON CONTINUING FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. RETAINING THE INTEREST AND COMMITMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SUCH A PROTRACTED PROCESS IS UNLIKELY TO BE EASY. RWANDA IS ALREADY COMPETING FOR ATTENTION WITH SOMALIA AND LIBERIA IN AFRICA AND WITH YUGOSLAVIA AND COUNTRIES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE FORMER COLONIAL MASTER, BELGIUM, HAS ALREADY REDUCED ITS INVOLVEMENT AND COMMITMENT TO THIS COUNTRY SIGNIFICANTLY. THE FRENCH APPARENTLY WANT TO REDUCE THEIR COMMITMENT AS WELL, ALTHOUGH THEY SEEM TO WANT TO RETAIN THEIR POLITICAL INFLUENCE. U.S. BUDGET PROBLEMS DO NOT BODE WELL FOR OUR ABILITY TO MAKE COMMITMENTS IN A COUNTRY WHERE OUR DIRECT INTERESTS ARE MINIMAL.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

20. FRAGILE PEACE. THE PEACE IN RWANDA IS FRAGILE.
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A CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES HELD FOR THE MOST PART OF THE PAST YEAR, WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNDERWAY IN ARUSHA. THE EXCEPTION WAS FROM FEBRUARY 8 TO MARCH 9 THIS YEAR WHEN AN RPF OFFENSIVE BROUGHT RPF FORCES TO WITHIN 20 MILES OF THE CAPITAL AND FORCED THE DISPLACEMENT OF NEARLY ONE MILLION PEOPLE. WHETHER TRUE OR NOT, NO ONE DOUBTS THAT THE RPF HAS THE MILITARY SKILL AND MIGHT RESORT TO DAMAGING VIOLENCE AS LONG AS IT HAS ACCESS TO ITS WEAPONRY. THIS COMMON BELIEF APPEARS TO BE ACTING AS A DETERRENT TO ETHNIC AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE THAT PLAGUED RWANDA DURING THE WAR. POLITICAL YOUTH GROUPS ARE FOR NOW QUIET. THE HUTU EXTREMIST POLITICAL PARTY HAS KEPT A LOW PROFILE SINCE THE RPF'S FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE. BUT GUNS AND GRENADES HAVE PROLIFERATED THROUGHOUT THE SOCIETY AND ARE EASILY ACCESSIBLE TO THOSE WHO SEEK THEM. EVEN AFTER THE FIGHTING FORCES DISARM, AS CALLED FOR IN THE

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DISENGAGEMENT PROCESS, A RESURGENCE OF VIOLENCE CANNOT BE RULED OUT. THE IMMINENT PRESENCE IN KIGALI OF 600 RPF TROOPS TO GUARD RPF PARTICIPANTS IN TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS KEEPS THE FEAR OF RENEWED VIOLENCE ALIVE.

21. THE RWANDAN OPTION. NEVERTHELESS, AGAINST ALL THESE ODDS, RWANDANS HAVE MADE REMARKABLE PROGRESS IN THE LAST 24 MONTHS, PASSING FROM A SINGLE PARTY DICTATORSHIP AT WAR TO A MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT LED BY AN OPPOSITION PRIME MINISTER THAT HAS CONCLUDED A PEACE ACCORD. IN THE PROCESS, RWANDANS HAVE CRAFTED A UNIQUE PATH TO DEMOCRACY. IN CONTRAST TO BURUNDI,

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WHERE ELECTIONS ARE TO LEAD THE WAY TO SOCIAL CHANGE, RWANDANS WROPOUE TO TRANSFORM THEIR SOCIETY FIRST. THE RWANDAN WAY, WHERE ELECTIONS ARE TO FOLLOW THE UNLEASHING OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND THE TRANSFER OF POWER AWAY FROM THE ALL-POWERFULL PRESIDENCY, MAY WELW PROVE MORS DISFICULT TO MANAGE. FIFTEEN MONTHS OF POWER-SHARING HAS BEEN ANYTHING BUT A SMOOTH RIDE. NEVERTHELESS, THE RWANDAN WAY IS WORKING FOR RWANDA. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND PARTY LEADERS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR STAYING POWER AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE TRANSITION PROCESS. THEY HAVE GAINED A WEALTH

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	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E49098 191255Z /38

P 191143Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4495
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY HARARE

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

OF EXPERIENCE IN POLITICAL MANEUVERING AND COALITION
BUILDING THAT WILL SERVE THEM WELL WHEN THE RPF JOINS
THEM IN GOVERNING.

22. GOOD WILL. THE DOGGED PERSISTENCE RWANDANS HAVE
DEMONSTRATED DURING THEIR YEAR-LONG PEACE
NEGOTIATIONS AND THEIR 15-MONTH EXPERIMENT WITH
MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT IS TESTIMONY TO THE GOOD WILL
ON ALL SIDES TO MAKE THE TRANSITION WORK, DESPITE THE
OBSTACLES THEY WILL INEVITABLY ENCOUNTER ALONG THE
WAY. WITH THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE ACCORD, RWANDANS,
INCLUDING THE RPF, COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO PEACE AND
TO A DEMOCRATIC OUTCOME FOR THE TRANSITION PROCESS.
RWANDANS ARE TIRED OF WAR, THEY ARE TIRED OF A
STAGNANT ECONOMY, AND THEY ARE READY FOR A CHANGE

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THAT WILL GIVE THEM A CHANCE AT PEACE AND
PROSPERITY. RWANDANS KNOW THAT THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO
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CONTINUE FIGHTING. NO ONE ACQUAINTED WITH RWANDA
WOULD PREDICT AN UNTROUBLED TRANSITION PERIOD.
LEADERSHIP WILL PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN KEEPING THE
PROCESS ON TRACK THROUGH THE DIFFICULTIES THAT LIE
AHEAD. SUPPORT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,
BOTH BILATERALLY AND THROUGH MULTI-LATERAL
INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE U.N., ;5#3 294)\$?-, (-, \$ 5#3
IMF, WILL IMPROVE THE ODDS.

IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY

23. SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE PLAN IN
RWANDA WILL EFFECTIVELY END THREE YEARS OF CIVIL WAR,
OFFER HOPE FOR STABILITY IN THE SUB-REGION, BRING
RWANDA'S DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS TO THE BRINK OF
LEGISLATIVE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, LAY THE
GROUNDWORK FOR FULL MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN RWANDAN
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, GIVE THE ECONOMY THEO
CHANCE T

PICK UP, AND MOVE TOWARD RESOLUTION OF A
LONG-STANDING REFUGEE PROBLEM. RWANDANS HAVE MAPPED
OUT THE PATH THEY INTEND TO FOLLOW. BUT THEY CANNOT
COMPLETE THE TRIP WITHOUT THE HELP OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

24. THE UNITED STATES HAS PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE
IN PROMOTING DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO WARRING
FACTIONS AND, IN ITS ROLE AS OBSERVER AT THE PEACE
TALKS, SUPPORTED THE TWO SIDES THROUGH THE YEAR-LONG
NEGOTIATING PROCESS. IN KEEPING WITH OUR POLICY OF
PROMOTING CONFLICT RESOLUTION, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND
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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE U.S. SHOULD:

-- CONTINUE TO PROMOTE AND ASSIST THE RWANDAN PEACE
PROCESS, USING DIPLOMATIC, FINANCIAL, AND MATERIAL
MEANS;

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-- ENCOURAGE CONTINUED COMMITMENT OF ALL SIDES TO
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD DESPITE THE
DIFFICULTIES THAT WILL INEVITABLY SURFACE;

-- ENCOURAGE ALL SIDES TO RULE OUT RECOURSE TO
VIOLENCE AS A METHOD OF RESOLVING DIFFERENCES;

-- ENSURE TIMELY DEPLOYMENT OF A CREDIBLE NEUTRAL
INTERNATIONAL FORCE WHOSE SIZE, COMPOSITION, AND
COMMAND STRUCTURE ARE COMPATIBLE WITH THE JOB BOTH
SIDES EXPECT IT TO ACCOMPLISH;

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	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E4904E 191253Z /38

P 191143Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4496
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 08 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

-- ENCOURAGE THE OAU TO ENLARGE ITS MILITARY
OBSERVER GROUP IN RWANDA (NMOG), INCLUDING
PARTICIPATION OF ANGLOPHONE TROOPS, AND EXPAND ITS
MANDATE TO ACCOMMODATE POST-PEACE ACCORD MISSIONS;

-- ENCOURAGE THE U.N., ITS AGENCIES, AND ITS MEMBER
STATES TO BE RESPONSIVE TO RWANDA'S NEED FOR HELP IN
IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE ACCORD;

-- EXERT PRESSURE ON THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF TO
PARTICIPATE FINANCIALLY IN IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE
ACCORD PROGRAMS;

-- PROVIDE FUNDING FOR DEMOBILIZATION OF ARMED
FORCES AND REINTEGRATION OF RETURNING REFUGEES.

-- WORK CLOSELY WITH OBSERVERS OF THE PEACE
NEGOTIATION PROCESS, ESPECIALLY THE FRENCH, TO HELP
CREATE A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE AMONG THE POLITICAL

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FORCES IN RWANDA THAT WILL PERMIT SUCCESSFUL
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORDS.

25. KINSHASA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

LEADER

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